

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

INFORMATION REPORT

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SECURITY INFORMATION

COUNTRY	Thailand	REPORT NO.	██████████ 25X1A
SUBJECT	Outline of Projected Communist Regime for Thailand	DATE DISTR.	4 March 1953
		NO. OF PAGES	10
DATE OF INFO.	██████████ 25X1A	REQUIREMENT NO.	RD
PLACE ACQUIRED		REFERENCES	

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 (FOR KEY SEE REVERSE)

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The New Democracy

1. All human life is by nature patriotic, embraces universal love, and seeks those principles upon which to develop their native lands and free their fellow men from the burdens endured for thousands of years. In the beginning of time when Socialism prevailed there was no exploitation (literally "blood sucking") of one class by another. With slavery man was reduced to property - to be bought and sold. Treatment of slaves was brutal. As the social structure developed people became stratified into classes. The will and vanity of the rich and privileged enrolled the toil of the poor and laborers. The industrial Revolution produced the period of Capitalism. Centralization of industries, expansion of foreign investments and the growth of trade competition promoted imperialist expansion seeking cheap labor and raw materials. This was the zenith of Imperialist Capitalism. This evil precipitated the First and Second World Wars resulting in ruin and devastation to innocent people. In World War II we observed the growth and destruction of Fascism, World Enemy No. 1. This left as World Enemy No. 1, Imperialist Capitalism, whose leading exponent is Imperialist America. After her follow Great Britain, a land upon which the sun is setting, and France and the Netherlands which exist in name only and which will be thoroughly bankrupt within the next two years.
2. The revolution for World Socialism was launched in the USSR in the year 1917. It was a revolution to end czarism, the regime of imperialism and capitalism.

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Russia, under the Czar, also fostered capitalism in an even more reactionary form than Great Britain and the United States. The crisis created by the imperialistic World War I, coupled with the inevitable and increasingly bitter conflict between employers and workers, landlords and farmers, resulted in a civil or revolutionary war in Russia. Therefore, the question of why there was revolution does not have to be answered. The key question is why Socialism evolved into the New Democracy!

3. This question can be answered as follows: 'Theory is not a definite and fixed thing; it is a magnifying glass focusing on the true path'. The introduction of Revolutionary Socialism into countries reaching varying stages of economic, social and political development is an important point and the methods and techniques employed are an indication of whether or not the magnifying glass is properly used. Even in such highly capitalistic states as Great Britain, France the United States and Japan the Social Revolution must take into account dissimilarities in the origin of social patterns of these several states. If a state is politically based upon the principle of majority rule and has no nationalized economy it can be classified as a capitalist administrative regime. The Social Revolution is aimed at the destruction of capitalism and the institution of socialization of administration.
4. In colonial and semi-colonial areas the backbone of the social economy is agriculture. It is marked by an absence of heavy industry. Since capitalism has not yet ripened in such countries, the Social Revolution, if based upon rigidly fixed doctrine, will fail. The transition from colonialism to socialism is too great a one. State capital must be channeled into the development of the national economy. It is inevitable that colonial and semi-dependent countries lacking complete national sovereignty, having undemocratic regimes will liberate themselves through the Social Revolution. They will discard these yokes instituting the national administration of New Democracy and state ownership (capitalism).
5. How can the New Democracy be established? By the People. Administration by the People under the New Democracy follows the principle of 'the greatest good for the greatest number' and administrative power comes from the People who in turn delegate it to the Supreme People's Committee.
6. The form of the People's administration under the New Democracy will differ from the imperialistic and capitalistic administration. The people will elect local village committees, the village committees will elect provincial committees, the provincial committees will elect regional committees and the regional committees will elect the Supreme Assembly. The people retain the power to dismiss any official from service regardless of his rank. Each committee will appoint officers consisting of a president, vice-president and secretary. Salaries will be provided except for officers serving on village and district committees where service will be motivated by patriotism. Meetings will be held during hours not conflicting with the established workday. The Assembly will be divided functionally to include sections for education, culture, excise, agriculture, irrigation, health and others that may be deemed necessary. At each committee level there will be a sub-committee responsible for the welfare of the people and for adjudicating petty disputes, the latter to be ruled upon on the theory of sacrifice and respect for each other's rights. The higher committees will be small in membership since members will receive salaries. Committee members shall be required to pass competitive examinations. Other criteria will be experience and loyalty to serve within the discipline of the committee. Corruption will be eliminated through popular retention of power over public servants.
7. The term Central Democratic Union implies that the government structure, that is the ascending committees, is derived from the People and built by the People upon themselves. The Supreme Assembly of the Democratic Union, the highest organ of representatives, derives its power on this principle. This assures discipline among the various officers to the wishes of the people. The existence and extension of true democracy depends upon the sacrifice of personal interest to that of the social whole.

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8. The provincial and regional committees shall function in a manner similar to the Central Committee of the Union. Ministries and departments shall be established. The right to promulgate local constitutions not inconsistent with the Union Constitution is guaranteed to protect racial customs and lingual differences. However, such constitutions shall embody the common democratic idea and law of justice.
9. The Supreme Peoples' Assembly will progress from an appointive body exercising democratic dictatorship to that of a peoples' elected legislature. The appointed Assembly is required to protect the peoples freedom from the challenges of reactionaries, capitalists, foreign imperialists and conservatives. Their exploitation of the people must be prevented through the establishment of dictatorship within the framework of democracy. The delegates representing the groups of farmers, laborers, women's societies, public organizations and political groupings shall be fixed in number.
10. These delegates shall work together as a political assembly with the welfare of the people as their common aim. During this period of development toward the proletarian dictatorship, the Assembly will appoint the Central Presidential Committee and all lessor committees for a five year period of office.
11. Criminals, exploiting capitalists, merchants and others in similar class categories are barred from political activities unless they reform and prove themselves eligible for reinstatement in groups of decent citizenship.
12. After the expiration of this five year period, the People shall elect their own representatives. This is the second stage in establishing the New Democratic Regime.
13. The national policy of the New Democratic Regime embodies:
 - a. Food:
 - (1) The basic food of Thailand is rice. Exportation of grain surplus has caused an increase in the domestic price beyond the purchasing power of the poor. The State will purchase rice at the prevailing market price for sale at a reduced price to the public. The subsidy shall be financed by the profits realized through the export of surplus stocks.
 - (2) The nation is self-sufficient in the production of meat. The state is responsible for better distribution, refrigeration, and preservation. Canneries will be established by the State. Cooperatives will be encouraged as a means toward these ends.
 - (3) Cold storage and transportation should be increased for distributing and keeping of vegetables.
 - (4) It is a State responsibility to accumulate and maintain food stocks during times of shortage and emergency.
 - b. Foreign Trade:
Export-import and transportation is in the hands of capitalists. The new government must seize both land and sea transport facilities and promulgate protective tariffs in the interests of home industries. A National Economic Council shall control all export-import trade. Imports will be restricted to materials which are not produced locally. Machinery and medicines are examples.
 - c. National Finance and Banking:
The value of the baht in terms of foreign currencies shall be fixed in accordance with principles of justice. The value of the baht shall not be subject to foreign influences. Private banks shall be abolished. The system of taxation will be reorganized with heavy penalties levied upon those who attempt evasion. The volume of currency in circulation will be restricted to the demands of trade.

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d. Economic and Social Developments:

- (1) The People's sovereignty must be reorganized under the basic principles of class dissolution. The influences of foreign imperialists must be ended. It is an urgent and most important matter that life under the new regime be established within the principles of political, economic and social democracy. The State is pledged to see this program through. Those interested in national progress should read "Economy in the New Democratic Regime" by Sanan Wanapruet of the Aksorn Sarn Printing Office.
- (2) In colonies and semi-colonial areas the most oppressed class is the peasant farmer and farm laborer. Assistance must be given this group so that it may participate in the building of the nation. Irrigation projects are urgently required. Re-allocation of land will prevent exploitation of the public by criminals and capitalists. Loans for the development of new crops will be provided. Cooperatives will expand production and eliminate the merchant.

e. Social Security:

- (1) An effective social security shall be instituted on the basis of "Independence, Democracy, peace, and an adequate living. From birth we must be guaranteed food, shelter and work. After our productive life is ended, we must have gratuities and pensions. Defectives must be cared for in special institutions.
- (2) The New Democracy requires total employment for the benefit of the community as a whole but this employment will not be in the form of slave labor or otherwise abused through authoritarian methods. Capitalists, oppressors, and swindlers are prevented from exploiting labor.
- (3) The working day will not exceed eight hours per day. Longer hours, whenever required, will be compensated for by special allowances. Holidays and leave of absence are provided for. Workers will receive sick leave with full medical care and normal pay.
- (4) Wages are scaled on the basis of efficiency and the nature of the work performed. A committee will determine a wage scale based on equity.

f. Housing:

- (1) Large towns and cities suffering from congested slums and unhealthy conditions must be cleared and remapped with adequate transportation facilities added.
- (2) The Youth is the future of the nation. The State accepts the responsibility for the safety, education and morals of the youth. The State organization charged with this program shall be composed of private citizens. However, a State Committee to be appointed shall direct and supervise this mechanism.
- (3) Diseases such as leprosy, elephantiasis, yaws and the like continue to be incurable because of the selfishness of past and present rulers. For the good of society, science must be utilized to the fullest to save victims from pitiless fates.
- (4) Vagrancy, robbery, gambling, prostitution, and the practice of retaining mistresses have no place in the New Civilization. The State must develop an effective arm to suppress these evils.

g. Education and Culture:

- (1) The educational system of the old regime taught people to remain foolish, to be led into slavery under a false philosophy. The intent of the New Democracy is to maximize educational opportunities for all without prejudice. The educational plan will be initiated with the establishment of the Peoples Educational Institute under which supervision the national educational

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program will be lodged. Curricula of schools and universities will emphasize the sciences. The New Democracy will minimize the importance of degrees and diplomas basing rewards upon a student's proficiency. Theoretical training must be supported by practical experience to be offered through special facilities.

- (2) Literature and philosophy must be expurgated to contain only truth. It is important that students not be indoctrinated or exposed to the ideas of exploiters, dictators, pro-royalists and war mongers.
- (3) The lack of educational institutions is the fault of the reactionaries who desired an ignorant docile public.
- (4) The New Democracy will support public labor organizations and farmers', youth, womens', artists and citizens societies. In addition to State newspapers and publications there will be placard newspapers in which the public can voice its opinion on national progress and developments.

h. Religion:

Religion is the imparting of wisdom and need not be subject to a fixed text. However, it must be appropriately presented so that all may follow. A good religion promotes the welfare of the people. Capitalized religious organizations will be abolished. The New Democracy will not recognize the granting of rank, the giving of alms, nor the payment of salaries to priests. The duty of the priest is the study of religious doctrines. Required necessities will be supplied by the State. Religion must be prevented from becoming the tool of the capitalists.

i. Peoples' Courts:

- (1) The system of courts will be divided into two or three courts as may be necessary. Unlike the present system where three judges with legal training sit as a court, the People's court will have three judges but one of these three shall be a representative of the people. Qualifications will be his sense of justice and loyalty to the New Democracy. Defendants may or may not engage defense counsel other than that furnished by the State. A public prosecutor and other court officials are also available to the accused. The court will conduct its business with compromise, quiet and impartial judgments as its aims. This guarantees that no unjust or ill-intended harm on the part of influential persons can be imposed upon the weak and poor. Officials violating the rights of the people shall receive sentences and fines three times the normal.
- (2) All citizens including the president are subject to prosecution. The People's Supreme Prosecutor will protect the public in all legal matters and prevent the State from exceeding its powers.
- (3) Penal institutions established and maintained by the State shall accept prisoners sentenced by the courts. Separate accommodations will be provided for prisoners of opposite sex and juvenile inmates. Special indoctrination and tutoring will be given prisoners in an effort to develop wholesome citizens upon release. It is recognized that innate criminals must be treated as a special category.
- (4) Prisoners will be required to work during confinement. Only violators of the public peace (presumably political plotters, agitators, etc) will be sentenced to hard labor. Penitentiaries will be equipped with hospitals, reading rooms, cinemas, and radios. Prisoners with good behavior will enjoy special treatment and on specific occasions be permitted to visit families. With the exception of those who plotted against the public peace, all inmates having served their sentence are permitted to work without prejudice. Prisoners will receive compensation for special work.

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j. People's Army:

- (1) Colonialists and capitalists have long forced men to fight their wars and, with the advent of peace, returned the soldiers to the status of wage slaves. After the close of the Napoleonic Wars Prussia developed a regular professional army which was thrown against foreign foes for purposes of looting and thereby enriched the sovereign of the State. The two World Wars inflicted severe hardships upon innocent populations who were forced to obey the commands of their rulers. The New Democracy embodies the ideal of ending and preventing wars thus achieving real and permanent peace.
- (2) There are two categories of wars - wars of Revolution and wars of reaction; wars between the oppressed and the oppressors, wars between the laborers and the capitalists, wars between the people and their brutal rulers or, more simply, wars between the sufferers and the tyrants. The New Democracy must abolish this tyranny.
- (3) The Peoples' Army of the New Democratic Regime organized by the People from the People will possess gigantic strength. To realize this maximum the Army must:
 - (a) fill its ranks with the manpower of the people, the people who support and have the utmost confidence in the nation's armed might;
 - (b) serve the People to which it belongs;
 - (c) be supported by a strong economy in addition to adequate armament. The soldier must be adequately trained to play a full civilian role in the social and economic life of the nation.

k. People's Police:

It is the duty of the Police to maintain public tranquillity. Investigation and cross-examination must be just and fair, not encroaching upon the human rights. Accused persons must be appraised of their charges and the reason for punishment. No suspect or prisoner shall be subjected to bodily harm or liquidation. Police officials shall practice politeness while exercising their duties of protecting the public welfare.

l. Foreign Policy:

- (1) The New Democracy challenges the platitude that all countries must have different foreign policies. Several scholars base foreign policy upon the geographical location while imperialists and capitalists base it upon aggression and trade exploitation. Fools who rant about rights think only of the right to destroy another antagonist. The New Democratic Regime will be based upon the principle of humanitarism in order to further friendly relationships among one another. This is in keeping with the saying, "Above all is the State and above the State is Humanity". This position may be at variance with that of other countries but we consider it to be an internal question which does not concern outside elements..."Revolution can neither be exported nor imported". The New Democracy observes that Mao Tze Tung, Stalin, Truman and Churchill are unable to prevent struggles between classes or absorb the pressures of internal and external tensions. Where there is action there must be reaction.
- (2) If the nations of the world desire peace there should be no problem of creating fraternity throughout. Without social classes friendship and fraternity could rise to the forefront. A world of the people, by the people, and for the people would be a realized goal. Slogans and intrigue could become things of the past.

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- (3) The position to be taken by the New Democracy based on truth and human fraternity embraces the following principles:
- (a) equality of all countries;
 - (b) destruction of colonial imperialism through peaceful cooperation with all new democratic peoples;
 - (c) refusal to support puppet states or fascist governments who are traitors serving imperialist efforts to enslave people;
 - (d) support of such trade and supply of such exchange as is required by each state. Currency exchange of the capitalist system must be replaced by the system of bartering.
 - (e) creating permanent peace through disarmament. The practice of nations using or establishing foreign military bases and the supplying of arms for aggressive war will be opposed.
 - (f) organization of a mutual defense system among small and undeveloped countries of the world: Africa, Middle Eastern Arab areas, and Southeast Asia, with due consideration to racial and geographical factors, common interests such as manpower, natural resources, and the balance of power as protection against an invasion of a great power. The defense groups of the weaker states will form such combination as is required to balance problems arising from situations perpetrated by the great powers.
 - (g) support of international humanitarian organizations;
 - (h) support of international organizations assisting the technical advancement of undeveloped areas.

It should be noted that the above principles are already being accepted by the Socialist Governments of India, Burma, and Indonesia in Asia, the Arab Group in the Middle East, and that the trend is beginning to emerge in South Africa and Tunisia.

m. Foreign Minorities:

- (1) Retarded and undeveloped countries fear foreign minorities in questions of trade and political influence. The Chinese, Indians, Burmese, Indonesians and overseas Vietnamese are deprived of rights and ill treated.
 - (2) The New Democracy does not fear minority problems. New reforms and expropriation of land and property will protect the population from exploiters. High cost of housing, rice prices and exorbitant interest rates will be radically reduced and made uniform for all. Foreigners will be permitted identical rights accruing to citizens in commercial enterprises.
14. The truism "fish seek water" has not changed with time. China is developing a democratic socialism upon similar principles adopted by the New Democracy. China, India, Burma and Indonesia have become the fatherlands for their respective populations. Pride of our motherland beats in every heart. For this goal should we not return and die there?

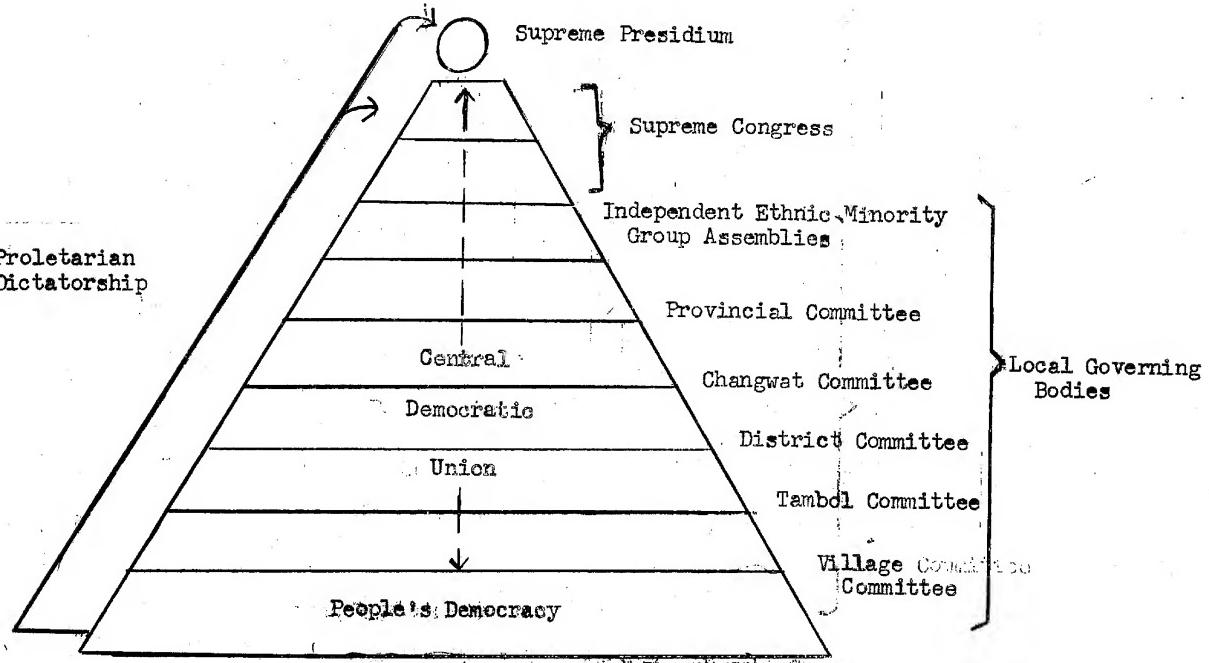
The New Democratic Life is the Fruition of Democracy.

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GRAPHIC PRESENTATION OF
THE
NEW DEMOCRACY



The People's Congress after the Successful Coup d'Etat

15. We shall proclaim to the world the establishment of the Proletarian Dictatorship through the adoption of Democratic Dictatorship. Initially, the People's Representatives shall be appointed within the principles of democracy rather than elected. It is anticipated that members of the former reactionary government may escape into exile and there be supported by Imperialist Powers. The Political Advisory Council will be charged with making these interim appointments and also fixing the proportion of representation. Appointees remain under the discipline of the People's Dictatorship. Criminals, Counter-Revolutionists, and enemies of the People will be denied personal liberty. Followers and members of those parties comprising the Popular Front and Coup d'Etat shall enjoy full political rights.
16. Delegates will be chosen representing the Communist Party, the People's Armed Forces, Laborers and Trade Unionists, Farmers, Women, the Bourgeoisie, Industrialists, Artists, Scientists, and ethnic minority groups such as the Cambodians, Laos, Mons, Moslems and Karens.
17. The members of the Supreme Congress are responsible for guiding the nation's political policy. The Congress also selects the Supreme Presidium. Provincial Committees on down will be appointed for an interim of one year or, if circumstances warrant, up to a total of five years. The transition from appointive to elected officers is a goal of the First Five Year Plan.
18. Within the first five years following the coup d'etat, the heaviest burdens of national development and onslaughts of counter-revolutionaries are expected. It is therefore necessary that our movement retain dictatorial control to protect the nation and People's interest. All of us are determined to fight to the end against the People's enemies. All of us pledge to sacrifice for the ideals and principles of the movement.

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The Press

19. In addition to authorized newspapers, periodicals and circulars of the Popular Front, there must be established a voice of the people through which may be published constructive criticisms of the national development. The official press is charged with keeping the public informed and guiding opinion in the bounds of truth. Errors and faults shall be our instructors. The press of reactionaries is banned.

Major organizations of the Revolution

20. It is the strategic political objective of the Revolution to purge the Fascist Government, bureaucrats, and minority groups supporting the foreign enemy of the nation and the people, the United States. In as much as our internal and external enemies are the stronger it is necessary that we seek allies among those states sufficiently powerful to redress this adverse balance and who profess sympathy for our cause.
21. Our own Revolutionary Forces are composed of:

The Communist Party of Thailand representing professionals and junior government officials.

Laborers

Employees and Farmers

Shopkeepers and bourgeois

Industrialists (those who join with us renouncing ownership of property and political rights. This group is deemed unreliable and must be treated with caution and suspicion).

Officers and patriots who believe in the People's Democracy.

22. From these groups must come the leadership for the Revolution and advisors required by the new government. History records that revolutions fail unless they are led by the Communist Party.

23. We must study the character of the Communist Party. The Communist Party is the advance column of the People. Its membership is carefully culled, maintains quality rather than quantity, and is prepared to sacrifice all in their service to the people. Communist Party members are committed to the struggle against the upper classes, possess unwavering political ideals, will never compromise with the enemy and will persevere in the search for truth. We therefore accept the Communist Party leadership of the Revolution. These professionals are our advance column; the laborers and farmers are the main body of our forces and other groups form the reserve.

24. To those who are averse to serving under Communist Party leadership fearing loss of prestige and access to top government position, we answer that the Party has only one aim - service to the majority of the people. Nothing more and nothing less. Communist Party members are prepared to sacrifice themselves. They are humane individuals following the ideals and policies of the Party. Communist Party members will readily step aside in favor of any individual who proves himself worthy of greater responsibility. Their cooperation within the national administration is assured. The Communist Party, unable to accomplish all alone, is due the support of all patriots and followers of Democracy. Inasmuch as a Communist Party member is above cheating, avarice and enhancing his happiness at the expense of others, his sacrifice for the social welfare is an inspiration to all.

25. Communist Party members will be extremely effective in rooting out the evils and influences of the bureaucrats, capitalists, and traitors by bribing less purposeful individuals.

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26. It is Communist Party policy to prevent deviation. It is Party Policy to establish its own armed forces. The Party is opposed to a policy of territorial expansion. We Communists respect the rights of others.
27. Members of the Communist Party of Thailand are Thai citizens who are no less patriotic than other party memberships. Our Party has not been established through foreign influences as was those of the bureaucrats and capitalists. Our Party does not receive bribes from foreigners as do the present reactionaries.
28. We, as Revolutionists, adopt the principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tze Tung. These principles are studied, developed and adapted to conditions within Thailand. These principles form an invaluable guide in the preparation and institution of the Revolution. Our revolution shall be developed by Thais alone with alliances within and without Thailand. The friends of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples are the Socialists, Progressive Democrats, and laborers of the world.

Foreign Policy

29. We accept the true principles of the United Nations and declare solemnly our support for Human Rights. We profess friendship for all countries who respect the integrity of Thailand. We declare ourselves the enemy of Fascism and Imperialism. We support treaties of amity and mutual defense with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic and the People's Government of China. Thailand's friends are among the progressive democracies.
30. Our history is a story of being the victim of foreign aggression and exploitation. Our natural resources are monopolized by foreign reactionaries. These are our enemies and should be shot.
31. Those who believe diplomatic and economic relations with the Imperialist nations are essential to the survival of the nation live in folly. These persons lack moral fiber and are defeatist. We are not incapable of overcoming the hardships of war. Among the Socialist and progressive democracies we find increasing markets for our surpluses.
32. The Imperialists are merchants and industrialists by nature. They take our raw materials and offer us their finished products. Without our raw materials and our market for manufactures it is the Imperialist who will suffer. He then cannot sell us arms for ore concessions and timber reserves.

Conclusion

33. The Revolution in Thailand can be instituted only by force. Preparation will entail:
 - a. unification of the classes under the leadership of the Communist Party;
 - b. preparation of an armed underground with adequate weapons, recruiting financial support, and seizure of liberated areas;
 - c. soliciting additional popular support, infiltrating key positions and areas throughout the land and continual organization of revolutionists.
34. Through the above we can seize the administrative powers and establish the New Democracy, establish new policies of economic rehabilitation and industrial self-sufficiency.

General Comment

35. This document outlines the general scope and plan for the Revolution. Details, particularly after the revolt, will be the responsibility of the future government.
36. Policy toward the establishment of political parties is to be determined by the Supreme Presidium.

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